

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T USDEL SALT TWO II 0144

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E. O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: SALT: APRIL 6, 1973 MEETING

REF: USDEL SALT TWO II 145, 146 AND 147

1. SUMMARY: JOHNSON LED OFF APRIL 6 MEETING ADDRESSING SEMENOV APRIL 3 STATEMENT AND THEN REVIEWED CONCEPTS. SEMENOV TABLED PROPOSAL TITLED " BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AN UNDERSTANDING FOR MORE COMPLETE MEASURES LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS". JOHNSON, IN REVIEW OF SEMENOV APRIL 3 STATEMENT, ASKED WHETHER THERE IS DISTINCTION BETWEEN " UNDERSTANDING" AND " AGREEMENT" AND ASKED FOR SOVIET VIEWS ON EQUAL AGGREGATES FOR ICBMS, SLBMS, AND HEAVY BOMBERS AND EQUAL ICBM CEILINGS PLUS RECONSIDERATION POSITION ON EQUAL ICBM THROW- WEIGHT LEVELS. HE STRESSED NEED FOR INSURING SURVIVABILITY AND PENETRATION CAPABILITIES DETERRENT FORCES. SEMENOV, AFTER REVIEWING STATUS OF TALKS, TABLED PROPOSAL ENTITLED " BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AN UNDERSTANDING FOR MORE COMPLETE MEASURES LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS", WHICH INCORPORATED ALL SOVIET PROPOSALS SUBMITTED IN GENEVA- II. NEXT MEETING APRIL 10. END SUMMARY.

2. JOHNSON, ADDRESSING SEMENOV APRIL 3 STATEMENT, VOICED HIS
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UNDERSTANDING SIDES AGREE BASIC TASK IS TO WORK OUT PERMANENT AGREEMENT TO REPLACE IA AND OPERATE IN PARALLEL WITH ABM TREATY. THIS AGREEMENT TO BE MORE COMPLETE IN SCOPE AND DURATION. RECALLING APRIL 3 REFERENCES TO "AN UNDERSTANDING", JOHNSON ASKED IF SOVDEL DREW DISTINCTION BETWEEN "UNDERSTANDING", AND "AGREEMENT". HE SAID DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TWO IS CONSIDERABLE AS SALT ONE DISCUSSIONS SHOWED.

3. NOTING APRIL 3 STATEMENT LISTED "ESTABLISHMENT OF LEVELS" AS FIRST PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED, JOHNSON ASKED WHETHER SOVDEL ENVISAGES OVERALL AGGREGATE ON ICBMS, SLBMS, AND HEAVY BOMBERS. HE SAID IT WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL TO KNOW SOVIET ATTITUDE ON EQUAL CEILINGS ON ICBM LAUNCHERS. HE HOPED SOVIET SIDE WILL RECONSIDER NEGATIVE POSITION ON EQUAL ICBM THROW-WEIGHT LEVELS SINCE THEIR PRESENT POSITION THIS QUESTION VIOLATES EQUAL SECURITY THROUGH INDEFINITE PRESERVATION SOVIET SEVERAL-FOLD THROW-WEIGHT ADVANTAGE. HE ASKED SOVDEL POSITION ON FREEDOM TO MIX.

4. TURNING TO CONCEPTS, JOHNSON SAID DIALOGUE TO DATE HAS LEFT SIDES FAR FROM COMMON UNDERSTANDING. CLEARER UNDERSTANDING EITHER SIDE'S VIEWS ON STRATEGIC CONCEPTS WOULD FACILITATE TASK HERE. THERE IS SIGNIFICANT LEVEL OF AGREEMENT THAT MUTUAL SECURITY, STRATEGIC STABILITY, DETERRENCE, EQUALITY, EQUAL SECURITY, ESSENTIAL EQUIVALENCE, AND NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE SHOULD BE EMBODIED IN AGREEMENT. US RECOGNIZES THAT GEOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL, HISTORICAL FACTORS INFLUENCE SIDES' APPROACHES. INTERPRETATION THESE COMPLEX FACTORS MUST NECESSARILY BE SUBJECTIVE. THUS, US SIDE ADVANCED MORE OBJECTIVE TWIN CONCEPTS OF SURVIVABILITY AND CAPABILITY TO PENETRATE FOR DETERRENT FORCES. SOVDEL DESCRIBED THEM AS "ARTIFICIAL," "ARBITRARY", AND "INCOMPLETE," BUT US CONTINUES TO BELIEVE CONFIDENCE THESE TWO ELEMENTS CRUCIAL TO MAINTAINING ADEQUATE DETERRENT AND STRATEGIC STABILITY. MOREOVER, USSR AWARE THAT THESE CRITERIA "NOT OBJECTIVELY AIMED AT ARMS BUILDUP," BUT USED BY USG AS BASIS FOR NOT GOING FORWARD WITH CERTAIN STRATEGIC PROGRAMS.

5. SEMENOV SAID SALT- TWO OBJECTIVE IS TO WORK OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE UNDERSTANDING ON MORE COMPLETE MEASURES LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. HE SAID ABM TREATY AND LA, COUPLED WITH IMPROVED US- USSR RELATIONS, CREATE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR PROGRESS IN THIS TASK.

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6. SEMENOV SAID IT IS NATURAL FOR US AND SOVIET PEOPLES TO HAVE CERTAIN DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE IN POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF SALT, AND MOREOVER, DURING 1973. IN ADDITION, DETERMINATION OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE WAYS TO DEVELOP TALKS WOULD, IN ITSELF, BE SIGNIFICANT FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING SIDES' POSITIONS. SOVIET SIDE PREPARED TO EXERT EFFORTS TO WORK OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR AGREEMENT ON MORE COMPLETE MEASURES TO LIMIT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

7. SEMENOV THEN TABLED 11- POINT DOCUMENT ENTITLED, " BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AN UNDERSTANDING FOR MORE COMPLETE MEASURES LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS" (TEXT SEPTEL). POINTS 1 THROUGH 6 INCLUDED SUBSTANCE ALL SOVIET PROPOSALS MADE IN GENEVA- II. POINTS 7 THROUGH 10 COVERED VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL MEANS, USE OF SCC, AND INDEFINITE DURATION OF EVENTUAL TREATY TO RESULT FROM AGREEMENT ON ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO LIMIT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

8. JOHNSON NOTED THAT DOCUMENT APPEARED COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY OF SOVIET POSITIONS TO WHICH HE HAD ALREADY GIVEN RESPONSE. HE WOULD HOWEVER STUDY DOCUMENT IN LIGHT OF PRINCIPLES HE STRESSED TODAY.

9. SEMENOV STRESSED THAT DOCUMENT WAS FORMAL AND OFFICIAL PROPOSAL BY SOVIET GOVERNMENT WHICH HE ASSUMED JOHNSON WOULD FORWARD TO USG. JOHNSON SAID HE WOULD. JOHNSON

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